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PERSIAN POETICAL MANUSCRIPTS FROM THE TIME OF RŪDAKĪ

By W. B. HENNING

It may not be wholly inappropriate if in a volume dedicated to an eminent Persian scholar, whose contribution to the study of early Persian literature has been outstanding in range and quality, some account is given of certain manuscripts that, although insignificant in extent, full of gaps—one could almost say: consisting of gaps—, and written in a non-Persian alphabet, have the great virtue of having been written at the very beginning of Persian literature, actually in the lifetime of Rūdakī himself. In a paper read to the XXIVth International Congress of Orientalists, Munich 1957, I described one of these manuscripts, a fragment of a Persian version of *Bilauhar u Būdīsaf* (Barlaam and Josaphat); see *Akten des 24sten . . . Kongresses*, 305–7 (summary) and *Qadīmtarīn nusxe-yi ši'r-i fārsī*, Tehran 1337[1] (full text in Dr Yarshater's translation). This fragment is presented here (I) for the first time, together with a later-discovered piece of a Persian Qaṣīde (II), also from the great collection of Manichaean manuscripts in the Berlin Academy.[2]

Before laying the texts before the reader, it will be useful to describe briefly the orthography used in Manichaean Persian.[3] It is both bizarre and erratic. The scribes, accustomed to writing Middle Persian (and Parthian and Sogdian as well), applied the old familiar spellings also to Persian words, however much their forms had

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[1] Also in *Majalle-yi Dāniškade-yi Adabiyyāt*, V, 4.

[2] It gives me great pleasure to take this opportunity to express sincere gratitude to the Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften and in particular to Professor Dr H. Grapow, the Director of its Institut für Orientforschung, for the permission to make use of the precious materials preserved in the Institut.

[3] The remarks following here are concerned with the whole of the Manichaean Persian material, not merely with the manuscripts published in this article.

changed, but did so without system and allowed adequate representations of current speech to stand beside antiquated forms. The Middle Persian disguise is sometimes so perfect that only an occasional Arabic word betrays the true character of the language. The word for "and", pronounced *u*, is still written '*wd* (اود), the Iḍāfe-particle *ĭ* appears as '*yg* (عیگ) or '*y*, the abstract ending -*ī* is -*yh* or -*yyh*, the 3rd singular of presents ends in -*yd* but was pronounced in -*ăd* (or perhaps -*ĕd*), words in final -*e* and -*ā* are still spelt in -*g* and -'*g*, and this on occasion even affects Arabic loan-words, e.g. *jwmlg*=جمله. Influence of Sogdian orthography may be detected in *x'n'g* "house" (for the expected *x'ng*), *kwn'nd* "they do" (beside *kwnnd*), *swz'ndg* "burning", and the like. Quite modern forms abound, e.g. *z*-, in *zw*, *z'yn* "from him, from this" beside '*c* (and '*z*) "from", *j'y* or *j'* "place" (MPers. *gy'g*), *b'* "with" beside '*b'g*, *k'*=*ke* for MPers. *ka*, *ku*, and *kē*, etc.

In metrical passages the spelling takes little notice of the form of the words required by the verse: the metre is not meant for the eye. Thus '*wd* '*yn gwj*' (اود عین گوجا) suggests four syllables *ud īn gujă*, but is proved to be trisyllabic (– ‿ –) by the metre and thus has to be read *ŭīngujă* "and this which", = classical *ŭīnkujă* وینکجا, with a note-worthy voicing of *k* after -*n*-; contrariwise, *w''ncy*=*ŭănče* represents the true speech-form. There are cases of the licence, occasionally found in classical Persian poetry, of combining the Iḍāfe-particle with a preceding -*e* into a single long syllable (-*ei* from -*e'i*), but the orthography is not conducive to their detection; e.g. *ryšg* '*yg* (ریشگ عیگ) "the root of" counts as a disyllable, *rīšei* (– –). This mode of spelling makes it virtually impossible to establish the metre in broken passages.

The history of Manichaean Persian was too brief to permit the fixing of spelling rules, such as are created by a long tradition of schooling. Each scribe, it seems, had a method of his own. There are thus some differences between the two texts published here. The one scribe writes *pd* for the preposition *pa* (later *ba*) and *ny* for the negative particle, the other prefers single letters, *p*- and *n*-, joined to the following words. The scribe of the Qaṣīde allows an occasional -δ- for postvocalic -*d*- ('*ry*δ "he brings", *nbw*δ*m* "I was not"), but mostly writes -*d*-; the other has -*d*- throughout. The verb "to open" is spelt with *g*- in the one text (*gwš'y*), with *k*- in the other: *bkwš'dmt* "I opened it for you" (which the metre shows to have been read as *bukšāδamat*). The latter conforms to the general Central Asian (and

Indian) pronunciation of the word (*kušūdan*, etc.), yet *gwš'y* need not be considered a West-Persian form but may represent a late Middle Persian spelling (cf. *gwš'd* beside normal *wyš'd*).[1]

The alphabet used is the ordinary Manichaean one in its Central Asian form, i.e. the basic stock of 22 Aramaic letters, transliterated (in Abjad order) as ' b g d ẖ w z h ṭ y k l m n s ' p c q r š t, plus various accretions: β γ δ f j x (ف غ ذ ف ج خ). A letter previously found only in Manichaean Turkish is *k* or *q* with two dots, here used for Arabic *q*.[2] A new letter is 'Ain with two dots to represent Arabic 'Ain;[3] for this we write ᶜ. The scribe of the Qaṣīde, adhering to classical Middle Persian tradition, tends to disregard the letter *f* and render the sound *f* by *p*, but only in Persian words; for *f* in Arabic words he sometimes employs a *p* with two dots.[4] The Manichaean letter δ, which had been borrowed from Sogdian, had two values, δ and θ (ذ and ث); it is here sometimes used for Arabic θ, e.g. in *mδl=maθal* "proverbial saying", but ordinarily that sound is expressed by a double δ,[5] often with intertwined tops, which we transliterate as θ, e.g. *ṭθlyθ=taθlīθ* "trine".[6] Finally, the enclitic *-ē* "one" is expressed sometimes by the numeral sign "1" (reproduced as "-I"), sometimes by the letter *-y* with two dots; this may also serve generally to render final *-ē* (occasionally *-ai?*) and to distinguish it from *-ī*, e.g. *ykÿ=yakē* "a single", *hmÿ* (also *hmyÿ*)=*hamē* "always", *wyÿ=wai* "he".[7]

Letters that are partially destroyed, faded, or otherwise doubtful are enclosed in round brackets (   ); those in square brackets [   ] have been added by me to fill gaps in the manuscripts.

I. BILAUHAR U BŪDĪSAF

The principal fragment (its reconstruction has been described in the paper mentioned above, p. 89) consists ‑of a sheet (*Doppelblatt*)

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[1] Alternatively, the -*k*- may have been due to assimilation (*bukš*- from *bugš*-) and the spellings may reflect a genuine distinction (*gušāy-* : *bukšāy-*) in the living language, which by analogy led to the generalized Eastern form with *k*-.

[2] It must be remembered that the letter *q* (without dots) expresses ordinary *k* (occasionally *g*); similarly *ṭ* expresses *t* (sometimes *d*).

[3] Undotted 'Ain, of course, has the value of Alif before front vowels.

[4] One could infer from this that Arabic *f*, even in Persian pronunciation, was markedly different from Persian *f*.

[5] Double δ was already used in Sogdian, with preference for θ (but also for δ).

[6] It would be awkward to write *ṭδδlyδδ* instead.

[7] Perhaps pronounced *wē*?

damaged at the bottom and outside margins; see Dr Boyce's *Catalogue* under M 581. Which of its two leaves (A and B) preceded the other it is in the nature of things impossible to say, except by the contents; in the same way the contents alone can tell which position the sheet occupied within its section (*Lage*), how many pages therefore are missing between the two leaves.

On the verso of A a chapter heading speaks of Bilauhar's separation from Būdīsaf and his return (next night). This I originally took to agree with p. 69 of the Bombay print, but in fact it corresponds far more closely with the similar passage Bombay p. 83, line 1 "on this they parted that night; then he came back to him next night (*al-qābilah*), greeted him, was greeted in return, and sat down"; which passage is followed immediately, in the Bombay text as in our fragment, by the question about Bilauhar's age. The preceding page is an elaborate version of Bombay p. 82, lines 11–15, admonitions to Būdīsaf to examine his mind and free himself from doubt. The whole of A thus corresponds with a single page of the Bombay print, 82 line 11—83 line 10. Leaf B refers to Bilauhar's personal spiritual experience (verse 14, cf. Bombay 89 pu.—91), sums up his discussions with Būdīsaf (verses 15, 19, 22, 23), advises him against rashness (24, 26), viz. in his plan to join Bilauhar as an ascetic, announces that he is on the point of leaving him (verse 20, cf. Bombay 123, line 2 sqq.) and entrusts the hope of meeting him again to God (20 and 21). These passages, unless I grossly misunderstand their purport (which in view of the broken text is perfectly possible), indicate that Bilauhar is speaking of his final departure (Bombay 135, line 12), certainly not of another meeting "next night", and therefore exclude the possibility of placing B before A. Thus B forms part of the long sermon that follows upon the question about Bilauhar's age, Bombay 86 sqq. A couple of sheets (=8 pages), perhaps a single sheet (4 pages), may suffice to cover the gap between A and B.

That this Persian version of *Bilauhar u Būdīsaf* did not lack the tales that are so essential a part of the whole composition, is proved by an additional small fragment of the same manuscript (C) that Dr Boyce kindly brought to my notice (=M 9130). It is unfortunately too insignificant to allow of further inferences. It would be tempting to restore](g)r byh[(verse 32) to [j'dw]gr byh[wn][1] and discover here

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[1] *jādūgar Bihūn* would fit neatly into the verse.

the sorcerer whose name is spelt البهون in the Bombay text,[1] but this
may be too adventurous and the verse in question more likely belonged
to one of the tales.

A metrical fault is the case of *fāʿilātun* in the first foot of 16b,
since otherwise *fāʿilātun* alone occurs. Elision of an unusual kind has
to be assumed in 8 (*pa andīše 'ndarā* ⌣ – – – ⌣ –, or even *pa'ndīše*
'ndarā – – – ⌣ –, see below) and 27 (q.v.). Frequently a word begin-
ning with a vowel is not tied with the preceding consonant, e.g. *hm 'c*
26 is measured as – –, hence *ham 'az*, not *hamaz*. This, a matter of
syllabification, is regarded as permissible; nevertheless, *pd 'yn my'n* 12
(the reading, however, is doubtful) as – – ⌣ – is intolerable; for this
was surely pronounced *padīn* (*badīn*), not *pa^d 'īn*. A graver fault is the
excessive use of ornamental *-ā* at the end of lines; while each separate
case could be excused (thus *raušanā* and *andarā* occur in the *Šāhnāme*,
and *-ā* after a 2nd sing. is fairly common, cf. Horn, *Grd. Ir. Phil.*,
i, 2, p. 152), it is impossible that a good poet should have employed
such an artifice in three out of four successive verses (24, 26, 27).
This by itself suffices to compel me to withdraw my altogether too
hasty suggestion that Rūdakī might have been the author of our work.
We shall have to attribute it to a contemporary imitator of him, and
not too skilful a one at that.

This is a good opportunity to draw attention to the Manichaean
character[2] of an important part of the "wisdom" of the book as it
appears in the Arabic texts, in spite of superficial islamicisation. Most
striking is the prophetology in the Bombay print, pp. 60–1 (in
Rehatsek's translation of the abridgement, *JRAS*, 1890, p. 140),
where the very wording compellingly recalls authentic Manichaean
writings:

انّ أصل دعوة الحقّ لم تزل تأتى على سرّ الزمان ويظهر المحقّ مع انبياء
اللّه ورسله فى القرون الماضية الأولى على ألسنة متفرّقة

and further on with regard to the deterioration of earlier religions:

من بقية ما فى أيديهم من الكتب والفقه التى يقرؤن بها

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[1] It has invariably been emended, cf. Kuhn, p. 29.
[2] On the general question see the excellent introduction to D. M. Lang's
The Wisdom of Balahvar, 1957, especially pp. 24 sqq.

A *Recto*

1 ṯ' [ny] b'šd rwšn '[nd](r)[   ]
   cwn dylt šwd[a]) by-I-gwm['n[b])   ]

2 'r qwnyy cwny(n) k' gw(f)[tyy][c]) m[r mr' ?]
   j'y gyryd[d]) xwd sxwn dyl(t)[e]) 'nd[r' ?]

3 by(x) [']wd ryšg 'yg[f]) d'nyš 'ndr d[yl bk'r]
   p[s ? brwyyd] nrd 'wd š'x u [brg u b'r]

4 hr sxwn [y]' pwrsyš u jw[g)   ]
   hr cyt ''yd zw gwm'n 'ndr [   ]

5 b'z pwrsyš b'r 'yg [   ]
   hr cy xw'hy(ḥ) t' bgw[yy[h])   ]

6 wrt byrwn 'm[d   ]
   b' dyl 'y[g   ]

7 nyk b(l)k['[i]) ?   ]
   b'r 'yg d[   ]

[1–3 *verses missing*]

(a) = *šud.*—(b) By mistake for *byhg-* = *bē-gum[ān].*—(c) Or *gw(f)[tm] m[?*—
(d) = *gīrad.*—(e) Very feeble trace of *-t*, possibly merely *dyl.*—(f) = *rīšei.*—
(g) Not *jw['b]*! Poss. *jw[mlg 'yg jw'b]*, and [*ṣawāb*] in b?—(h) Or *bgw[ym].*—(i) *-l-*
almost entirely disappeared, but no other letter fits traces.

A *Verso* [Plate IV]

8 [r](f)t byrwn 'c d[r]('')
   [   ](py)[a]) pd 'ndyšg '(nd)[r]'

Heading in   [   ](lw)hr ('c)[b]) jwd'g   (ornamentation)
coloured ink [   ]b'z '(m)d(n) 'yg bylwhr (ornamentation)

9 [   ](ḥ)[c]) 'c ps by'md nyz (b')z
   [   ] qrd 'wd bwrd ['wr' nm']z

10 [pyš 'yg wyy ?](bn)šyst[d]) 'wd bwdysfše[e]) (g)wft
   [   ]r [ny]st br tw br nhwfṯ

11 [   ] . . . 'wd jwz 'yn sk'l
   [   ] . g(w)[d](š)tg[f]) cnd s'l

12 [   ]-I pd 'yn m(y'n)[g])
   [   ] . . (zy)n zm(''n)[h])

13 [   ] . wy . . . (b)wyd[i])
   [   ]qwd(k) [š]w[y]d

(a) Possibly *-ft* = *xuft*? But then *pa 'ndīše 'ndarā*?—(b) Very doubtful.—(c)
pagāh unlikely.—(d) Spelling: cf. Salemann, *Zum mp. Passiv*, 271 line 2.—(e)
The principal tear between *d* and *y*, but these two letters quite certain.—(f) [δ]
not possible here, because its top would be visible; [z] out of the question.—(g),
(h) Doubtful.—(i) = *buwad* or *buwīd*.

Bilauhar u Būdīsaf (A verso and B recto)

Translation

1   Before it will be clear in . . . . when your heart has become free of doubt . . . .

2   If you do as [you] said [to me],[1] the word will take hold in your heart.

3   [Plant] the root and stock of wisdom in [the heart, then there will grow its] trunk[2] and branch, [its leaves and fruit].

4   Any saying or question and . . . . anything from which doubt comes to you in . . . .

5   Again a question . . . . the fruit of . . . . whatever you want to say[3] . . . .

6   If there has come out your . . . . with a heart of . . . .

7   Good, rather . . . . the fruit of [wisdom] . . . .

[*Gap of 1–3 verses*]

8   . . . . he[4] went out by the door . . . . he[5] [lay down] troubled in his mind.

Heading: . . . . Bilauhar parted . . . . the return of Bilauhar.

9   [At nightfall] thereafter he did indeed[6] come back, made . . . . and bowed to him.

10 He seated himself [before him] and Būdīsaf[7] said to him: . . . . is not hidden from you.

11 . . . . and apart from this, consider[8] . . . . passed how many years?

12 . . . . a single . . . . meanwhile (?) . . . . from this period . . . .

13 . . . . will be . . . . becomes a child[9] . . . .

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[1] Or: as [I] said [. . . .]?

[2] *nard*, on which see *Sogdica*, p. 4, is a fairly uncommon word. Asadi quotes Kisā'ī for it; it occurs in the *Šāhnāme*.

[3] Or: you want me to say.

[4] = Bilauhar.

[5] = Būdīsaf.

[6] *nīz* harks back to Bilauhar's announcement (= ed. Bombay, p. 82, lines 10–11) that he would leave but return.

[7] Strictly one should perhaps write *Bōdīsaf*. I have generally avoided *majhūl*-vowels, partly because they serve to confer an outlandish look on quite familiar Persian words, and partly because their use has degenerated into a mere mannerism.

[8] *s(i)kāl* = later *sigāl*.

[9] Corresponding with *ṭifl* ed. Bombay, p. 83, line 4, therefore part of Būdīsaf's remonstrance against Bilauhar's assertion that he was twelve years of age.

B   *Recto*   [Plate IV]

14   z'nk' d'nystm [   ]
       'mdm nzdyk dy(dm)[   ]
15   'wd 'yn gwj'[a) gw(f)[tm[b)   ]
       k'yn (n)h'd(y)st(nd)[   ]
16   s'n [']wd 'y(yn) [   ]
       sxwn 'yg d(')[nyš   ]
17   nw gwz(yn)'n d.[   ]
       ṯ' sxwn pd [   ]
18   cwn (šwy)d[c) mr(d) [   ]
       xwd (q)wn(y)[d][c) q[   ]
19   'yn (gwj')[d) gwftm '[   ]
       w''n (cy)[d) m'nd (')c (k)[   ]
20   rftm (')knwn rn(j) b(wr)d(m) [   ]
       zwd m['n][e) dyd'r b'yd [   ]

[1–3 *verses missing*]

(a) = *u̯ïnguǰā*.—(b) Cf. 19.—(c) = *šawad, kunad*.—(d) Very faint, but hardly in doubt.—(e) A tear in the paper makes it difficult to estimate the gap; hardly *m[n]*.

B   *Verso*

21   [   ]yd yzd[a) zm'n
       [   ]bwyd[b) dyd'rm'n
22   [   ] 'yg mn d'nyy cy cyz
       [   ] ny fr'mwšy<u>h</u>[c) bnyz
23   [p]'swx d'dmt
       [   ]bkwš'dmṯ[d)
24   [   ]xwd r'yy'[e)
       [   ]y'd ''ry'
25   [   ]bd dr mnyyš
       [   ] y'bd ks bwnš[f)
26   [   ]by<u>h</u> k' xwd prhyzy'
       [   ]('w)d hm 'c tyzyy'
27   [   ]' s(xwn)[g)? (m)ngwšn'[h)
       [s](x)wn pd (xrd)[i) (šw)[yd] xwd rwšn'

(a) = *īzad*.—(b) = *buwad*.—(c) = *⁰ši*.—(d) = *bukš-*.—(e) = *xᵛad-rāyiyā* (*-ra'y-ī-ā*).—(f) = *bun-iš*.—(g) Illegible, but no other reading probable (the last two letters suggest *-yd* or *-yr* at first sight).—(h) Hardly *'ng-*.—(i) Doubtful; feeble traces. Metrically *pa-xrad* with elision (cf. *ba-bhišt* in the *Šāhnāme*, Nöldeke, *Nationalepos²*, p. 96, line 5) as in the (etymologically identical) compound *bixrad* "wise", which is apparently not meant here.

Translation

14 Since I realised . . . . , I came close (and) saw . . . .

15 And this which I said . . . . ; for they (?) have established[1] this . . . .

16 Fashion and custom . . . . the word of wisdom . . . .

17 Those newly chosen[2] . . . . until the word through . . . .

18 When a man becomes . . . . , he himself makes . . . .

19 This which I said . . . . and that which remained from . . . .

20 I am on my way now, I have undergone troubles . . . . Soon [another] meeting will come[3] for us . . . .

[Gap of 1–3 verses]

21 . . . . God will [determine] the time [when] . . . . we shall see each other [again].

22 . . . . [if] you know what is my . . . . you will never forget . . . .

23 . . . . I have given answers to your [questions], I have undone your [puzzles] . . . .

24 . . . . [if] you are wilful . . . . you will call to mind . . . .

25 . . . . in disposition . . . . [no] one will reach its ground.

26 . . . . you should [seek] to restrain yourself . . . . also from rashness.

27 . . . . speech [devoid of Reason] is guile and blandishment (?),[4] . . . . just by Reason speech becomes luminous.

C

First page[a)]

28 [   ]z u x(m)[   ]
   [   ](gw)š u (zb)['n   ]

29 ['z h]mg sxtyẖ [   ]
   (c')rg 'yg rs[tn   ]

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[1] *nihādistand* (the ending is doubtful), a perfect with *-ist-*, a type of form that acc. to Maqdisi, *B.G.A.* iii, 334, 8–9, was peculiar to Nīšābūr. It is common enough in classical Persian, but is usually read with *-ast-*. Cf. Horn, *Grd. Ir. Phil.*, i, 2, p. 154, who quotes *nihādastī* from *Vīs u Rāmīn*.

[2] Hardly "those choosing the new".

[3] *bāyad = bi-āyad* rather than "it is required".

[4] No Persian word ending in *-ngwšn* is known to me; the first letter is uncertain, but was probably *m-*. Provisionally I assume that *mngwšn = mang-ŭ-šan* (*-au-* of *raušanā* need not rhyme), a collocation of *mang* "fraud", *ŭ* "and", and *šan*, a word that according to the lexicographers means *nāz ve kirišme* (the verse in Vullers is found in the *Farhang-i Jahāngīrī*). Or else "henbane and hemp" (meaning "poisonous nonsense").

30 d'st'n 'yg [   ]
    ḣr (k)s–I r' (h)[   ]
    Second page
31 [   ](r)ft g'(h)[   ]
    [   ]ḣr qs (k)[   ]
32   ] . ḣr sḫ g(w)[. .]b)
                                        ]gr byh[. .]b)
33   ]bwd–I zw jwd'g
                                        ]bš ''[šn](')gc)

(a) The order of the pages cannot be ascertained.—(b) Of *w* in *g(w)*[only a tiny
fraction is preserved, but enough to make all other letters improbable. The *h* of
byh[is drawn out, indicating that very little is missing at the end: one or two
small letters, or a medium-sized letter and a small one at the most. Without
knowing whether the vowel of *byh*[was short or long, whether therefore *byh*[is
the penult or the antepenult, no safe restoration is possible; *sḫ*, of course, may
be either short or long. One might consider, e.g., *gūn* : *Bīhūn*; or *guwā* : *bī-ḥayā*,
etc.—(c) No other word apparently fits; rhyme in mere *-ā* is permitted.

Translation

28[1] . . . . ear and tongue . . . .
29 The means of escaping . . . . from all hardships . . . .
30 . The fable of . . . . for every one . . . .

—————

31 . . . . went at a time (?) . . . . every one . . . .
32 . . . . all three . . . .[2] . . . .[3]
33 . . . . a jar (?)[4] separate from it[5] . . . . familiar [with] its . . . .

II. A QAṢĪDE

This fragment of a *Qaṣīde* in Manichaean writing may not merely
claim a place among the many singularities in the Berlin collection,

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[1] 28–30 may precede or follow 31–3. Thus 31–3 could be part of the fable
announced in 30.

[2] witnesses? modes?

[3] shameless? sorcerer Bihūn?

[4] If [   ]*bwd-I* is the remains of [*s*]*bwd-I* (and not, e.g., of [*q*]*bwd-I* "a
blue . . . ."). *Sabūd* (strictly *sabōδ*) is an old form (classical *sabūy*) used e.g. by
Asadī. That its *-d-* is original is shown by the Armenian loanword (not hitherto
recognized as such) *sap'or* (hence Old Iranian *sapauda).

[5] Of all the Barlaam stories there is only one into which these words fit: the
fifth of the additional tales of Ibn Bābūye. As the fourth is already known in a
Manichaean version (von LeCoq, *Türkische Manichaica*, i, 5–7), it is possible
that these tales formed part of our Persian work. However, what is left of
verse 32 fails to agree with this supposition (perhaps there were *three* thieves?).
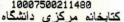
but also deserves some notice as the earliest surviving Persian poem of its kind. Judged by the type of script, the fragment (M 786) appears to be even older than that of *Bilauhar u Būdīsaf*, which I attributed to the first half of the tenth (Christian) century. Differently from that manuscript, its text is not set out in verse-lines, but written continuously like prose; in compensation, the ends of lines and verses were marked by punctuation dots and spacing. Only a single book-leaf, heavily damaged on the interior side, has survived. All except two lines are incomplete; several large holes disfigure the page and the writing has almost disappeared in some places. However, in spite of all the damage neither the nature of the text nor its metre is in doubt.

The metre is a common form of *Muḍāri'* : *maf'ūlu fā'ilātu mafā'ilu fā'ilāt* (with frequent "*taskīn*", viz. *maf'ūlu fā'ilātun maf'ūlu fā'ilāt*), i.e. $-- \cup - \cup - \underset{\smile}{\smile} -- \cup - \cup -$; the rhyme is in *-ār*. Virtually all Persian poets have used this metre with this rhyme, from Rūdakī onwards (for whom see Nafīsī, iii, pp. 998 sq., lines 214–15). In the handling of the metre there are clearly several irregularities, and although one can find parallels for each of them in the early Persian poets it would be impossible to find a parallel for the use of so many of them within so small a compass, only parts of thirteen verses having been preserved. Yet a work from the infancy of Persian poetry cannot be expected to conform to the rules gradually developed in the course of centuries.

Although at the first sight of a photograph of this manuscript I recognized the poetical character of its text and its metre, or intended metre, for several years I failed to get a clear idea of its contents. However I filled in the numerous gaps, the resulting sentences seemed devoid of meaning. If at last I have succeeded, to a certain extent, it was principally due to an assumption I made: that the poem had originally been written in Arabic script and was then transliterated into Manichaean script by a man who did not understand it properly. Such an assumption would account for the otherwise incomprehensible *cwzg'hyy* (line 20), for the omission of the Iḍāfe-particle (at least four times)[1] and the word for "and" (line 22) and the substitution of one for the other (line 12). With its help I have attempted a reconstruction of parts of the poem, which, although perhaps a little

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[1] Throughout in positions where its presence or absence makes no difference metrically. It could be added also in, e.g., 1 b (*sīrāb-i*) and 6 b (*markab-i*).

fanciful, will, I hope, not be regarded as deviating unreasonably far from its basis. To enable the reader to form an opinion of his own, I am giving first the text as it stands, without embellishments; it is unbiased, except that in one or two places opinions may vary on the true reading of faded or half destroyed letters (enclosed in round brackets).

As reconstructed, the poem[1] appears to be an elegy put into the mouth of a man already in his grave. His spirit complains (verse 2) in general terms of the bad times (verse 3) and the spoiling of virtuous effort through evil forces (verse 5), but chiefly of the callous and hypocritical manner in which his companions have abandoned him to his fate and forgotten him (7-13). The whole abounds with Muslimic phrases and imagery (*Hārūn, Nūḥ, Yūsuf, Dhulfaqār, jawāb* in the grave). Yet although on the face of it no Muslimic censor could have found fault with it, we should remember that this is a Manichaean poem and realize that the apparent meaning conceals a hidden sense. Then the speaker becomes the *viva anima, grīw zīndag*, the "Living Soul", that is ever suffering through malice and neglect, cast aside and trampled on, a stranger in this evil world. So understood, the poem may be regarded as a witness to the adaptability of Manichaean propaganda, to its readiness to assume ever fresh disguises in order to meet the demands of the times. Just as in earlier centuries Christians and Buddhists had complained of Manichaean unscrupulousness, so the adherents of Islam were justified in being on their guard against crypto-Manichaean *zindīqs*, who concealed their true thoughts behind an impenetrable hedge of familiar phrases.

Text

Recto [Plate V]

1   [. . .]syyr'b 'bd'r oo   oo rrd'a)

2   [. . .](š)t(g) k' pr[.] m'nyd 'z jw'b

3   [. . .](δ)[.](l)pk̇'r . (k)lb) gwš'y sxwn

4   [. . . . .] . r[.]'[.] 'z 'yn (z)m'ng

5   [. . . . . .]hr (m)r . [. . .]n oo pry'd 'z

6   [. . . .](m'ng) z(m)[.](n)g 'y sty[. . . .]

7   [. . . . .] u . . (w'ry) . [. . . . . .]

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[1] It is a *"qaṣīde"* only in form; in several ways it calls to mind the poetry found in the *Dīvān* of Nāṣir-i Khusrau.

A Qaṣīde (recto)

```
 8  [                              ](h'rw)n^c) [ . . ](z)[ . ]
 9  [                                        ] oo b'd 'yg
10  hw(nr)^d) (p)y(š) 'y mn 'ryδ šr'b 'y
11  [ . . . . . . . . . . . ] smwm 'yg^d) [              ]
12  [ . . . . . k . ]st^e) zhr u m'r oo              oo (hr)
13  [ . . . . . ] . w'dm^f) d'nystm drws[ . ]
14  [ . . . . ]c(h')r mrkb byyzyn kwnnd
15  [ . . ]'dg) oo              oo cwn nwẖ (mr) mr'
16  [ . . . .k . ]štyy pjwr o      ''(n)k'
17  [                ] prw m'ndgtr s[ . . ]d^h) oo              oo
```

(a) Mistake for *drd'*.—(b) Two dots above first letter; (*k*) may have been the first or second letter of the word.—(c) or (*hyr'*)*n*?—(d) Text up to *mn* on a thin, elongated tongue of paper showing just the letters. Words written above the line would have disappeared. Not certain, but probable that the line began with *hw(nr)* (the R-dot is not visible, so it could have been]*hw(nd)*). One can hardly read *hw'* instead.—(d) Either '*y + g*[. .] or '*yg* with the remainder of the line left blank.—(e) The bottom stroke of *k* only visible; the precise place of *k* (or, equally possible, *x*) cannot be determined.—(f) Or].*w('r)m*. The preceding letter either *p* or *s*.—(g) Or]'*r*.—(h) Or *s*[. .]*r*.

Verso

```
18  cwn ywsp̄m pk̄hr prwd 'bg[ . . .]
19  pc'ẖ o c'hyy k' br ny'[ . . . . ]
20  'w cwzg'hyy šm'r oo      [oo  . . . . . ]
21  zyyr 'y txt [ . ]rw xw'b[ . . . . . o]
22  k'pwr brg '[ . . ](w)rd^a) kw(n)[ . . . . . . ]
23  [ . . ](m)n nθ'r oo              oo 'nb(')[ . . . . ]
24  [ . . . . . ] . ng jwft mn k(w)[ . ](nd)[ . . . . . ]
25  [ ^{1-2} ](w)y 'y mn^b) ndh[                        ]
26  oo          oo brgštg[                        ]
27  'z gwr mn pd drd    oo    mn (zyyr) 'yg .
28  [ . . ](k)^c) frd ny ks[                    ]
29  [ . . . ]^d) 'wrdg pwšt (swy) (')[ . . . . . ]
30  [ ^{1-2} ]wy 'y r'h d'dg m(d)[^e) . . . . . ]
31  u pxrpwštg zr pnh'd[^f) . . . . . ]
32  oo              oo yk b('')rg) y' d[ . . . . . . . ]
33  kwn'nd bs u ''nk[ . . . . . . . . ]
34  šwwm k' nbwδm 'z by.^h)[ . . . . ]
```

(a) Or](*z*)*rd*.—(b) *mn* added above the line.—(c) A dot visible above the first letter of this word.—(d) Perhaps merely punctuation marks.—(e) Or *m(r)*[.—(f) Or *pnh'r*[. NB. not *pnh'n*.—(g) Or *b(')r*?—(h) Perhaps *by(h)*[?

Reconstruction[1]

1b − − ◡ − ◡ − ◡̆◡̆ sīrāb ābdār
2 dardā *sirište[−ī] ke furū mānad az ǰawāb
   *bā δulfaqār[−i][2] 'aql gušāyī saxᵛan *pa-zār[3]
3 faryād azīn zamāne *azīn *qahr[−i][4] mardumān
   faryād azīn zamāne zamāne-i[5] sitīzgār[6]
4 − − ◡ − u marwārīd − ◡ − ◡ −
   − − ◡ − ◡ Hārūn − − ◡ − ◡ −
5 bād-ī hunar [ču][7] pīš-i man āraδ šarāb-i *ḥaqq[8]
   − − samūm-i − ◡̆◡̆ − k.st zahr *i mār[9]
6 har − ◡ − ◡ aswār-am dānis^tam[10] durust
   − − čahār markab bīzīn kunan^d *f(a)sār[11]
7 čun Nūḥ[12] mar marā ◡̆◡̆ − kaštiy-ī pa-ǰaur
   ānke ◡ − ◡ − ◡ furū-mānde-tar *sanār[13]
8 čun Yūsuf-am pa-qahr furūd abganan^d[14] pa-čāh

---

[1] Square brackets here enclose words which the scribe left out by mistake. Words added by me to fill gaps in the manuscript are marked by an asterisk, if they are not sufficiently supported by evidence. Trifling restorations are left unmarked.

[2] The Iḍāfe-particle, omitted by the transcriber, seems wholly necessary; the object of gušādan should be saxᵛan, not 'aql.

[3] The obvious restoration; what follows is indeed a "complaint".

[4] Iḍāfe-particle again omitted.

[5] -e+i as a single long syllable.

[6] The pronunciation with -k- is recent.

[7] Such a word may have stood above the line; see text.

[8] Or similarly.

[9] Ms. zahr u mār, which cannot be right.

[10] dānistam treated as − ◡ −, therefore pronounced dānisam? Less likely as *dāns^itam, cf. parastār once in the Šāhnāme as − ◡ −, i.e. parsᵃtār (acc. to Nöldeke, Nationalepos², 97).

[11] On the metrical treatment of kunand see below n. 14. One could, however, restore kunand *bār instead.

[12] Written like the Persian word for "nine". Manichaean orthography did not permit h (by origin = Arabic ḥ) at the end of words; it had to be replaced by ḫ (by origin = Arabic h).

[13] s[. .]r is best restored as sanār, a rare but well-attested word; sawār is less likely.

[14] Here, and similarly twice in verse 9, I have restored a 3rd pers. pl. in preference to a 2nd or 3rd sing., although either of these would fit more comfortably into the metre. The sense seems to demand an "impersonal" 3rd pl., such as occurs in verses 10 and 13. There is no serious difficulty metrically, since the use of -and as a simple long syllable (not − ◡) is well-established, see Nöldeke loc. cit., 102.—abgan- old-fashioned spelling of aβgan-.

čāh-ī ke bar-ney-āyam azū ǰuz gäh-ī¹ šumār
9 – – ◡ zīr-i taxt furū xᵛābanand *marā
kāfūr [u] barg-i mūrd kunand *rūy-i man niθār
10 anbāz ◡ – ◡ – ◡̆ ◡̆ -ne ǰuft[-i]² man kunand
– – ◡ sūy-i man ne-dihand – ◡ – ◡ –
11 bargašte – ◡ – ◡̆ ◡̆ az gūr[-i]² man pa-dard
man zīr-i xāk fard ne kas – ◡ – ◡ –
12 āwarde pušt³ suy-ī *to⁴ suy-ī rāh-dāde mard
– – ◡ ū pa-xarpušte[-i] zar-nihāde⁵ *xār⁶
13 yak bār yā do bār ◡ – – kunand bas
u̯ānke ◡ – ◡ šūm ke ne-būδam az bi –⁷

Translation

1 . . . . sated with water and juicy.
2 Piteous [the creature] that is incapable of giving the Answer!⁸
[With the help of] the Dhulfaqār of Reason do open your speech
[in plaint]!
3 I cry for help against this age, [against this tyranny of] mankind.
I cry for help against this age, the age of quarrels and strife.
4 . . . . and pearls . . . . Aaron . . . .
5 [Whenever] the wind of Virtue brings before me the wine of
[Truth?],
The simoom of [Passion mingles with it illusion-creating] snake-
poison.⁹

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¹ *cwzg'hyy*, incomprehensible as it stands, has been altered by me into *juz gah-ī*, which should have been written *jwz gh 'y(g)*, or *g'ẖ* with the usual neglect of metrical shortening in spelling. A meaning equivalent to *juz (dar) rūz-i ḥisāb* seems required.

² Iḍāfe-particle omitted in the MS.

³ *pušt* treated as *puš*, cf. *dānisᵗam* above verse 6, and Nöldeke, *loc. cit.*, 103.

⁴ A word depending on *suy-ī* and consisting of a single open, short syllable is required. The restoration of *to* thus seems unavoidable, in spite of the awkwardness of a change in person, at least in form; for in sense *to* equals *man* in the preceding verses (cf. verse 2).

⁵ MS. *zr pnh'd[*. The line lacks both sense and metre, and has been emended drastically; *-e-i* (*-i* restored) again taken as a single syllable.

⁶ Possible; the choice is small.

⁷ If *by(h)[*, one would have to restore as *bihār* = "Buddhist monastery" (usually read *ba-* or *bu-*, but originally *bi-*). The meaning eludes me.

⁸ Demanded by the examining angels in the grave.

⁹ Emended from "poison and snake(s)".

6   Ever [since] . . . . I was a horseman, I came to know for certain
    . . . . they bridle (?) four horses unsaddled.[1]

7   [They put] me, Noah-like, into an ark[2] by force —
    That (ark) which [is] . . . . more helplessly cast down [on]
    shallows.

8   They throw me, Joseph-like, into the pit[3] with violence —
    That pit whence I shall only rise at the time of (the last) reckon-
    ing.

9   [When they] lay [me] to sleep down under the plank . . . . ,
    They scatter [upon] me camphor and myrtle-leaves.

10 [No] companion . . . . they join with me,
    Towards me they do not give . . . .

11 [The mourners have] returned from my grave in pain:
    I (am) left alone under the soil, no one . . . .

12 (They have) turned their backs upon [you?][4], upon the man who
    has been sent on his way[5]:
    . . . . over the gilded crest of the tomb [brambles are growing
    already].[6]

13 Once perhaps or twice they will [think of me]—that is all.
    And he that . . . . an ill omen that I was not from . . . .

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[1] Reference (possibly to the manner of carrying the coffin to the burial?)
not clear (on the use of horses in funeral processions in Persia, see e.g. H. Massé,
Croyances et Coutumes Persanes, i, 99–101).

[2] Viz. the coffin.

[3] Viz. the grave.

[4] An odd change of person.

[5] *rāh-dāde* = "someone to whom the road has been given", usually =
"allowed to enter, admitted".

[6] The line is not in order; meaning doubtful.